DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 150 676 EA 010 290

AUTHOR Dixon, R. Joseph; Van Til, William
TITLE Widening Cultural Horizons: Recommended Approaches to Intercultural Education. Curriculum Bulletin No. 339. Vol. XXXII.
PUB DATE Mar 78
NOTE 21p.
AVAILABLE FROM Curriculum Bulletin, Oceanside, Oregon 97134 ($1.50; payment must accompany orders)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Cultural Education; Cultural Interrelationships; Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); Educational History; *Educational Strategies; Elementary Secondary Education; *Human Relations; *Intercultural Programs; Literature Reviews; Post Secondary Education; Race Relations; Racial Discrimination; *Racial Integration; Surveys

ABSTRACT

American schools need to encourage better human relations among Americans of varied racial, religious, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds, according to the authors. They list useful strategies to encourage true integration, a list that they compiled from a review of integration approaches used historically. They surveyed the literature on education and improving intergroup relations and questioned school administrators and experts to ascertain their opinions of the effectiveness of each approach. The final list of strategies includes the direct experience approach, the community study approach, the democratic atmosphere approach, curriculum permeation, and group dynamics. (Author/DS)

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Curriculum Bulletin

Widening Cultural Horizons: Recommended Approaches to Intercultural Education

No. 339
Vol. XXXII
March, 1978
Price $1.50

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Published by:

American Education Foundation
Division of the
American Nepal Education Foundation
Oceanside, OR 97134

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Widening Cultural Horizons: Recommended Approaches to Intercultural Education

R. Joseph Dixon and William Van Til

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Widening Cultural Horizons: Recommended Approaches to Intercultural Education

R. Joseph Dixon and William Van Til

THE NEED FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Intercultural education in American schools is needed right now. We must bring about better human relations among Americans of varied racial, religious, ethnic, and social-economic backgrounds.

We live in an era when the social bonds of American society are being eaten away by the malignant cancer of racism. More than two decades have elapsed since the historic Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*. Yet for many children and adolescents education is still separate, still unequal, still devoid of emphasis on democratic human relations.

Yes, there has been some progress in physical desegregation in American schools, particularly in the South. Go to Nashville or Atlanta or Montgomery or the smaller cities and towns of the South and you will see black bodies in the same classrooms with white bodies. But go North to the great metropolises of Chicago or Detroit or Boston and a host of smaller cities and towns and you will find that even the physical presence of blacks and whites in the same classrooms is a long distance from a respectable degree of achievement. Segregation of the bodies has gone North. Locales of conflict have shifted from the Little Rocks of the mid 1950's to the Bostons of the mid 1970's. But the actors speak the same lines, whether it is the hate language of the mobs outside the schools or the evasions of several Presidents of the United States avoiding clear-cut moral commitments to desegregate. Some progress in physical desegregation, yes, but how "deliberate" has been the "speed" which Justice Earl Warren's court envisioned!

And wherever you go, whether North or South, whether in the inner city or the suburbs or the towns, there has been little progress in integration. Integration involves the acceptance of human beings in desegregated situations as individuals with worth and dignity, each fully valued, and each treated equally by fellow group members. Integration is at the heart of the American democratic dream.

This distinction between desegregation and integration is of high importance. The two terms should not be used interchangeably, though the American language in regard to human relations has been corrupted by careless usage which regards the words as synonymous. Desegregation simply refers to the physical act of abolishing segregated institutions, resulting, for instance, in black and white students attending the same classes in the same building. Integration, however, is far more than a preliminary physical act of providing buildings and classrooms for interracial or interethnic school attendance. Integration is a way of regarding fellow members of the only actual race which exists on this globe, the human race. Integration must be learned. It must be fostered by schools which encourage good will and unity among all students. Integration can be supported by legislation but it cannot be legislated because it involves students' knowledge and emotions and attitudes.

So it is not enough for schools simply to be desegregated, despite the importance of this preliminary step. Schools must also achieve an integration whereby students of differing racial, religious, ethnic, and social-economic groups understand and accept each other. The implementation of integration in American education is long overdue. The achievement of integration should be high on the agenda of American education.

Administrators, by necessity, must still struggle with the remaining formidable items on the agenda of achieving desegregation. Teachers, however, can advance along the new frontier of fostering the acceptance of all human beings as individuals who are regarded as possessing worth and dignity, who are fully valued in respect to their pluralistic backgrounds, and who are treated as equals by their fellow passengers in that giant lifeboat through space, this planet Earth.

Rightly, the teacher may ask, "In what direction should I steer?" What approaches to contemporary intercultural education offer most promise? What are the best bets?

Should I supply information to students by teaching them the many facts which exist about minority groups on the American scene — the factual data about race, the history of backgrounds, and so forth? Is there promise in this intellectual approach?

Should I single out a specific minority group for study, such as the blacks or Latinos or native American Indians, and help all students learn of the special contributions and experiences of this particular group? Is there promise in the ethnic studies approach?

Should I guide and counsel particular students who are confused on their values or who encounter personal problems in their relations with those they regard as "different"? Is the best approach the individual conference?

Or should I help students become more skillful in behaving in groups through group discussions which emphasize feelings expressed in social situations? Is there promise in the group dynamics approach?

Should I develop units of study which concern specific problems of human relations in areas such as housing, employment, prejudice, racism? Is there promise in the unit approach?

Should I take students on trips to visit schools and community institutions in which they can meet firsthand people who are not of their own backgrounds? Should I stress working together among students of multicultures in my school, in my classes? Is there promise in the direct experience approach?

Should I develop action learning projects during which students study community problems through participating actively in improving their local communities? Is there promise in the community study approach?

Should I be more indirect and rely upon literature, movies, plays and television programs and even role-playing, in order to help students put themselves in the shoes of others? Is there promise in the vicarious experience approach?

Should I help students become acquainted with other heritages and customs and contributions through dramatizations? Is there promise in a festivals, pageants, exhibits approach?

Should I attempt to adapt my particular field of the curriculum by inclusion of whatever content related to human relations seems most appropriate to that particular subject matter field? Is there promise in the curriculum permeation approach?

Should I stress instead the opportunities for meeting, mingling, and achieving understanding which characterize extracurricular programs of athletics, dramatics, clubs, etc? Is there promise in the activities approach?

Should I rely upon building a classroom climate in which all are encouraged to respect others as individuals, to anticipate value differences, to foster mutual affection and acceptance? Is there hope in the democratic atmosphere approach?

There is an easy answer to these earnest and understandable questions from the teacher. Use all of these approaches — and invent more. But the easy answer is not a helpful answer to the teacher confronted with obvious limitations of time and energy. By now, educators should be able to recommend the better of these approaches to the teachers of the nation. After all, intercultural education does have a history. Research has made a contribution to selection. But few know that history and research. Yet the time to educate against prejudice is now, not the day after tomorrow.

Therefore this bulletin in which the authors describe the history of intercultural education and popularize some research on the best bets among a dozen possible approaches to intercultural education. All too frequently scholars in education evade necessary action through a delaying tactic. They claim that "all the historical evidence is not in" or "further research is needed." Of course all the historical evidence is not in and never will be. Of course further research is always needed. But this recognition of the evident should not be used as an escape hatch to avoid action. So we are willing to go out on our scholarly limb and contend that American education has had some historical experience with intercultural education and that American educators do have some substantial knowledge of what should be done by way of intercultural education. We write as a team; one of us (William Van Til) has been involved in the historical development of intercultural education as a writer and as a worker in human relations organizations, and the other (R. Joseph Dixon) has carried on research which compares the recommendations of early and contemporary scholars in human relations education.

THE BACKGROUND OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Throughout the past sixty years some educators have recognized the serious problems of prejudice and have tried to deal with them. Five stages appeared in the development of intercultural education through the schools.

The first stage, the missionary stage, dates to the time of World War I and the 1920's when anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish and anti-Negro feelings were rife. The ugly Ku Klux Klan revived; anti-Negro riots occurred in major cities across the nation; a black separatist movement emerged. Advocates of understanding and brotherhood tried their best to create an awareness of the need for building better human relationships through American schools. During the missionary stage, educators and clergymen lectured throughout the country, telling whomever they could persuade to listen to them that school programs were needed to build better relationships among Americans of varied backgrounds.

Some teachers responded and tried to build intercultural understanding through the school. But, unfortunately, they had little to guide them save rhetoric. So a second stage, the stage of the simple answers, characterized the 1930's and early 1940's. Over-simplifications were often advanced; one or two untested methods were expected to effectively combat prejudice. For instance, some teachers who had listened to the intercultural missionaries had an unfounded faith that pageants and plays in which young people imitated the costumes of their ancestors would vitally affect attitudes. Units on George Washington Carver and his work with peanuts were developed by elementary school teachers in the naive hope that brotherhood between blacks and whites would be brought about. The answers were simple — too simple.

It took a national crisis to awaken American citizens to the importance of intercultural education. World War II forced many knowledgeable educators to look hard and long at the treatment of minority groups within this nation. The glaring contrasts between the principles of Nazi Germany and its stand for racial superiority and the principles of America and its stated belief in democracy and equality for all caused some to reflect upon the reality of life in America. The contradiction between what Americans said they believed (equality for all) and their attitudes and behavior relative to those beliefs (widespread prejudice and discrimination) was apparent. Too, survival of the United States depended on maintenance of a national unity, as race riots in Detroit during World War II graphically demonstrated.

Out of this growing recognition, the largest intercultural education movement in American history developed. Best described as the "promising practices stage," it extended approximately from 1943 to 1954. During this period, many workshops were held. Organizations were formed supporting human relations programs in many schools. Intercultural or intergroup education (terms usually used interchangeably) became the theme of yearbooks, issues of magazines, textbooks, and in-service education.

The fourth stage in the development of intercultural education overlaps the third and is more difficult to date. The research stage extended roughly from 1947 to 1954. During this period, substantial research on prejudice was reported in such books as *Studies in Reduction of Prejudice*, by Arnold Rose; *Dynamics of Prejudice*, by Bruno Bettleheim; and *The Nature of Prejudice*, by Gordon Allport. Some of the promising practices stood up well when examined by the scholars in behavioral sciences.

The fifth stage, the quest for desegregation, began in 1954 with the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* and continues into the present. Efforts during these years have been concerned primarily with the physical act of desegregating America's schools and with the academic impact of this action upon students. During this time, emphasis shifted from finding ways to reduce prejudice through the schools. Instead, the attention of school staffs focused largely upon compliance or noncompliance with desegregation rulings and the academic effects of desegregation. The new stage of desegregation absorbed the educators. Human relations centers often became part of major universities. Workers in the intercultural education movement often moved to university centers from their posts in independent intercultural organizations. Desegregation came to be regarded as the first priority; integration was often regarded as something which would come later — the second mile.

But as we pointed out earlier, it is not enough for our schools to be desegregated. They must be places in which students of differing racial, religious or ethnic groups understand and accept one another in a culturally pluralistic democracy. A sixth stage in American intercultural education, the integration stage, is long overdue. One way to achieve the sixth stage, integration, is through reducing or eliminating "white" student prejudice often characteristic of the American majority group. (The limitation of the English language makes it necessary for us to use the word "white" loosely. Unfortunately, there is no single word for the Americans who are not black, Indian, and Oriental in origin; or "others" such as Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Cuban-Americans. We are aware that many members of the latter three groups are classified as Caucasians and, indeed, are aware of the mythological nature of the concept of race itself!) The reduction of "white" student prejudice through approaches recommended by the early intercultural movement and by contemporary scholars and administrators is what this bulletin is about.

THE MAJOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONS

The three most prominent organizations of the promising practices era — 1943-1954 — were the Bureau for Intercultural Education, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, and the College Study in Intergroup Relations.

These three organizations published nineteen books to foster and improve intercultural education. Here is a brief description of each of the organizations and of the books they published — books still worth reading.

Bureau for Intercultural Education

The Bureau for Intercultural Education, largely supported by funds from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, published a series of ten books under the heading "Problems of Race and Culture in American Education."

Teacher education in selected school systems was a major concern to the Bureau. Under the leadership of H. H. Giles, formerly a laboratory school teacher, the Bureau supplied speakers and conference leaders in the form of institutes or workshops and served as a consultant to school systems on a wide range of issues. William Heard Kilpatrick, the eminent philosopher of education, was chairman of the Board of Directors; he set the tone of the series in a foreword to the first publication when he said that the books would be an effort to help schools deal constructively with the problems of intercultural and interracial tensions.

The Bureau's first publication, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, set forth the need for intercultural education, formulated a philosophy of cultural democracy as contrasted with extreme cultural pluralism or melting pot philosophies, and suggested goals and methods for the practical use of teachers in the classroom. It was written in 1943 by William Vickery, a curriculum worker, and Stewart Cole, a religious leader who had been active in the missionary stage and was Giles' predecessor as Bureau director. *Probing Our Prejudices*, by anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker, presented a specific unit of study to contribute to the reduction of prejudice in high school students. *They See for Themselves*, by teacher Spencer Brown, reported on studies in eleven schools which used an unorthodox method. The students chose a human relations problem, investigated it in the community, and dramatized their findings in a stage play which they themselves wrote and produced. In *Minority Problems in the Public Schools*, philosopher of education Theodore Brameld recorded incisive criticisms based on a seven-city survey of school administrative practices in intercultural education. *Intercultural Attitudes in the Making*, a John Dewey Society yearbook edited by William Heard Kilpatrick, a distinguished philosopher, and William Van Til, a curriculum worker, included chapters, among others, on gang attitudes, home and family relationship to intercultural education, and school responsibility for development of sound intercultural education programs.

Black-white relations were described by anthropologist-historian Ina C. Brown in *Race Relations in a Democracy*. In *Democracy Demands It*, William Van Til and his co-authors who wrote from

the vantage points of social studies, language arts, and science, suggested approaches to be used for the development of good intercultural education. *Becoming American*, by teacher Irene Jaworski, which was written in the form of a novel for high school students, presented the story of one family's emigration from Europe and the problems of prejudice encountered. In *They Learn What They Live*, researchers Helen Trager and Marian Yarrow reported on the studies of the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project that had been initiated to find ways to reduce prejudice in young children. The last book prepared by the Bureau, *Minorities and the American Promise*, 1954, was a comprehensive effort to deal with the problem of improving human relations, by Stewart and Mildred Cole, long-time intercultural workers; it emphasized broad generalizations rather than specific approaches.

Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools

Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, sponsored by the American Council on Education and receiving financial support from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, fostered experimental intercultural education projects in public schools. More than 250 projects in 72 individual schools or community groups were developed with the assistance of 2,500 teachers, administrators, and community workers. Hilda Taba, director of the project and a widely known curriculum and evaluation specialist, co-authored six of the seven books sponsored by the organization for publication between 1945 and 1948.

Literature for Human Understanding, by Taba and others, summarized attempts made to develop literature programs with a focus on human relations. In *Sociometry in Group Relations*, Helen Hall Jennings, an elementary educator, described sociometric methods of studying the interaction of children, and identified factors which promoted social development in the classroom. This pioneer study in group dynamics has been frequently reprinted, including a 1973 reprinting by Greenwood Press. *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, by Taba and others, reported on a sampling of social studies and English core projects that were developed in the high schools. *Reading Ladders for Human Relations*, by Taba and others, presented a listing of books, arranged by theme and order of maturity and difficulty, which were helpful in improving human relations. *Reading Ladders* has been repeatedly revised; the fifth edition was published in 1972. *Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, by Taba, reported on successful case studies and emphasized the importance of planning processes and ways of dealing with the curriculum. In *With Focus on Human Relations*, Taba and teacher Deborah Elkins wrote of three years of effort by an eighth-grade teacher to develop human relations programs in the classroom through integrating three aspects taught: literature, social studies, and guidance. The final book by the project was *Intergroup Education in Public Schools*, a general report on the experimental projects by Taba, Elizabeth Brady, and John Robinson, each a professor of intergroup relations.

College Study in Intergroup Relations

The College Study in Intergroup Relations, also sponsored by the American Council of Education with financial support from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, was a joint effort on the part of twenty-four colleges to improve teacher education relative to intercultural education. More than two hundred experimental projects were implemented from 1945 to 1949 to help prospective teachers play a role in eliminating prejudice among their students and to equip them with the techniques for dealing with prejudices in classrooms in which they would teach. Lloyd Allen Cook, the national director of the study and a prominent educational sociologist, edited the first book and wrote the only other book published by the organization.

College Programs in Intercultural Relations, edited by Cook, consisted of a report by each of the twenty-four participating colleges. Cook served primarily as a reporter in this volume, and turned to interpretation in the second book, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, as he discussed the most valuable approaches used in the College Study in Intergroup Relations.

APPROACHES SUPPORTED BY THE INTERCULTURAL MOVEMENT

Essentially, what did these books recommend, as viewed in the 1970's by a co-author of this article? Twelve approaches to combatting prejudice were apparent:

1. **Community Study Approach:** Students go into the community to acquire firsthand information and to become involved in community activities. They return to the classroom to analyze human relations problems encountered.

2. **Direct Experience Approach:** Students are sensitized through direct experience with members of a minority group.

3. **Curriculum Permeation Approach:** The curriculum is developed so that many areas of the school program (including the several separate subject matters) assist in eliminating prejudice.

4. **Ethnic Studies Approach:** A specific minority group is singled out for study, and an instructional program is developed around the special contributions and experiences of its members.

5. **Group Dynamics Approach:** The group is used as an instrument for the education of its members. Students are exposed to the dynamics of group situations and become more skillful in behaving in groups. The approach includes such techniques as group discussion and sociometry; the emphasis is on feelings.

6. **Intellectual Approach:** Facts are taught and information supplied about minority groups in American democracy.

7. **Unit Approach:** Specific units of study are developed around the problems of human relations.

8. **Democratic Atmosphere Approach:** Democratic human relations are developed in the school. Students are respected as individuals by teachers and administrators; their opinions are welcomed, and differences are valued in an atmosphere of mutual affection and acceptance.

9. **Vicarious Experience Approach:** An indirect approach is used, such as movies, plays, and especially literature. The student assumes the role of an outgroup member.

10. **Activities Approach:** Extracurricular programs are reorganized to promote heterogeneous grouping.

11. **Individual Conference Approach:** Guidance and counseling with students are offered on personal problems, especially value conflicts.

12. **Exhibits, Festivals, and Pageants Approach:** Displays or events are presented depicting other heritages and indicating minority group customs and contributions. The intention is to create in-group self-respect and out-group acceptance.

Obviously, not all of these approaches were recommended by each of the authors or co-authors of the nineteen books. So, in order to determine just which approaches were being most emphasized during the promising practices stage of the major intercultural movement, a system was devised that would enable a researcher to know what each author was recommending and to what degree. The system is detailed in *Intercultural Education: Recommended Approaches* by R. Joseph Dixon, a 1974 Indiana State University doctoral dissertation. For the general reader, the outcomes digested in Table 1 of this bulletin will probably be a sufficient reference. Fundamentally, the educators of the era of promising practices in intercultural education, 1943-1954, stressed six approaches of the twelve possibilities. See Table 1.

First of all, the ambitious early intercultural educators believed that the *entire* curriculum of the school should be arranged so as to deal with pertinent aspects of intercultural education — the Curriculum Permeation Approach. Second in order of emphasis was the Unit Approach. Indeed, two of the books were written in the form of a unit, and other books offered advice on how to construct units. The Democratic Atmosphere Approach was ranked third among the possibilities. Many writers thought that one of the best ways to improve human relations was for teachers and administrators to provide an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect in which students feel they belong, are wanted, are trusted, and that their opinions are welcomed.

Ranking not quite as high, but still given considerable attention, were three other approaches. The Community Study Approach, study of the community by students to analyze prejudice and how it functions and to identify resources for change, was frequently recommended as a method for reducing prejudice. The Group Dynamics Approach was also

highly emphasized, though the group dynamics movement did not appear on the educational scene until the late 1940's. The first mention of it in any of the nineteen books was not until 1948; from then on it was recommended highly for its potential in a total of six books. The Vicarious Experience Approach was encouraged, primarily through the writings of Hilda Taba and the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools project. Although plays and movies were suggested as effective indirect approaches, most emphasis on vicarious experiences was directed toward selecting literature with a focus on human relations.

The remaining six approaches were less emphasized. Sensitizing students through direct experience with members of a minority group (Direct Experience Approach) was given little recognition during the promising practices stage. Apparently, this was due in part to the authors' awareness of research which indicated weaknesses in the direct experience approach unless there was a high quality of contact between people as they worked on concerns they shared. Undoubtedly, lack of stress on the Direct Experience Approach was also related to the social realities of that time. Prior to 1954, all Southern and many Northern school systems were segregated and thus opportunities for lengthy and frequent interracial contact situations were highly limited.

The Intellectual Approach was considered desirable in the reduction of prejudice, but not in and of itself a powerful factor that would cause this reduction. The point was often made that a sound program would result, not from the dissemination of facts, but through approaches that affected the feelings and emotions of students. Research has shown that facts alone are relatively ineffective in reducing prejudice.

Reorganizing the extracurricular program to promote heterogeneous grouping, the Activities Approach, was rarely mentioned. The Exhibits, Festivals, and Pageants Approach was not seriously recommended as an effective intercultural education approach in any of the nineteen books of the intercultural projects, nor was the Individual Conference Approach.

Ranked last of the twelve approaches was the Ethnic Studies Approach, whereby a minority group is singled out and the experiences and contributions of its members become the focal point of instruction. Apparently, the concern of the early group of scholars was focused upon problems of human relations as a whole, rather than racial problems alone or religious problems alone. Also, ethnic studies prevalent in the 1950's were regarded as a type of overly intellectualized approach, and a heavily factual approach was not considered to be especially effective in reducing prejudices.

In addition, the Ethnic Studies Approach had been tried in the simple answers stage and was apparently deemed by some intercultural workers to be unsuccessful. This may have been a premature conclusion, based on the unavailability of good materials on ethnic studies. The period of the 1940's and the early 1950's antedated the major black movement which has emphasized black studies and black identity in the 1960's and 1970's; the earlier era was characterized by no influential demand, by any group, for the development of materials on ethnic studies. In the latter stages of the 1943-54 intercultural movement, some writers were clearly reluctant to recommend a direct attack on prejudice. They had concluded that a direct attack often set up a defense mechanism within the student and froze negative attitudes rather than changed them.

Basically, the scholars of the promising practices stage considered the Curriculum Permeation Approach, the Unit Approach, and the Democratic Atmosphere Approach to be the most effective methods and thus the best bets for reducing student prejudice. Three other approaches were given much favorable attention: the Community Study Approach, the Group Dynamics Approach, and the Vicarious Experience Approach. So we can conclude that these six approaches were regarded by the intercultural education movement of 1943 to 1954 as the most effective approaches.

CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARS' AND ADMINISTRATORS' VIEWS

The history of intercultural education is important. But even more important for the schools today is what contemporary leaders are thinking about the subject of prejudice. In order to determine current opinions, the co-authors devised a questionnaire which was sent to present-day scholars and school administrators. The

Table 1

Degree of Emphasis Given Intercultural Education Approaches

Approaches:	Vickery & Cole	Powdermaker	Spencer Brown	Brameld	Kilpatrick & Van Til	Ina Brown	Van Til & Others	Jaworski	Trager & Yarrow	Cole & Cole	Taba & Others (a)	Jennings	Taba & Others (b)	Taba & Others (c)	Taba & Others (d)	Taba & Elkins	Taba, Brady & Robinson	Cook, Vol. I	Cook, Vol. II	Totals
Curriculum Permeation	3		3		3		3		3		3		3		1		3			25
Unit	3	3		3	2		3	3								2		1	2	22
Democratic Atmosphere		2		2	3		3		2			3				2	2			19
Community Study	3		3	2			2										2	2	3	17
Group Dynamics												3	3		2		3	2	3	16
Vicarious Experience			2					3			3			3	1	3				15
Direct Experience									1		3			3						7
Intellectual	2					3														5
Activities				2													1			3
Exhibits & Festivals																				0
Individual Conference																				0
Ethnic Studies																				0

Note: 3 = high degree of emphasis
2 = moderate degree of emphasis
1 = low degree of emphasis

Note: (a) *Literature for Human Understanding*
(b) *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*
(c) *Reading Ladders for Human Relations*
(d) *Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*

questionnaire consisted of three divisions: a listing of the twelve categories of known intercultural education approaches considered in the earlier promising practices stage, a request that any additional approaches considered effective be added to the list, and a request that minority group leaders identify themselves so that majority group and minority group responses could be compared. How would the approaches of contemporary scholars and administrators in 1974 compare with the approaches of intercultural education leaders of 1943 to 1954? What would contemporary scholars and administrators endorse as the better approaches to reducing or eliminating the prejudices of white students?

Forty scholars were selected, primarily on the basis of their recent written contributions to the field of intercultural education. Illustrative are a few known respondents (signatures were not required): Theodore Brameld, most recently Visiting Distinguished Professor of Urban Education at Lehman College in New York, author of one of the books written during the promising practices stage and a continuing proponent of realistic intercultural education; James A. Banks, professor at the University of Washington, author of several books and articles relating to student prejudice, and recently editor of *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, the 1973 yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies; Charlotte Epstein, Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at Temple University and author of *Intergroup Relations for the Classroom Teacher*; and Gertrude Noar, Consultant to the NEA, past National Director of Education for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and author of pamphlets and books on intercultural education, such as *Living With Difference*, *Information is Not Enough*, and *The Teacher and Integration*. Twenty-two questionnaires were completed and returned by contemporary scholars.

Sixty-four superintendents of the largest school systems in the nation were also queried. The largest school systems were selected because problems of prejudice are more apparent in large school systems and their administrators have experience in the development and observation of intercultural education programs. Thirty-six questionnaires were completed and returned by school administrators.

We called the two contemporary groups "the scholars" and "the administrators."

How did contemporary scholars rank the twelve approaches which were suggested by the earlier intercultural movement? (Table 2) The contemporary scholars considered Direct Experience, Community Study and Democratic Atmosphere Approaches, in that order, to be the three most effective approaches

Table 2

Rank Order of Approaches Recommended by Contemporary Scholars and Administrators

Contemporary Administrators Ranking	Contemporary Scholars Ranking
1. Democratic Atmosphere	1. Direct Experience
2. Direct Experience	2. Community Study
3. Group Dynamics	3. Democratic Atmosphere
4. Community Study	4. Curriculum Permeation
5. Curriculum Permeation	5. Group Dynamics
6. Activities	6.5. Vicarious Experience
7. Individual Conference	6.5. Individual Conference
8. Unit	8. Activities
9. Vicarious Experience	9. Unit
10. Exhibits, Festivals, & Pageants	10. Ethnic Studies
11. Ethnic Studies	11. Intellectual
12. Intellectual	12. Exhibits, Festivals, & Pageants

for reducing white student prejudices. The Curriculum Permeation and Group Dynamics Approaches, which ranked fourth and fifth respectively, were also regarded as effective and useful for intercultural education programs.

The Vicarious Experience and Individual Conference Approaches shared the number six ranking. The present-day scholars considered these two approaches worthy of occasional use as supplemental methods in conjunction with the more effective approaches. The Activities and Unit Approaches ranked eighth and ninth. The remaining three approaches — Ethnic Studies, Intellectual, and Exhibits, Festivals and Pageants — were considered only "slightly effective" approaches.

As their top approaches, the contemporary administrators chose the same five as the contemporary scholars (Table 2). The similarities between the judgments of the contemporary administrators and the contemporary scholars is striking! The administrators saw eye-to-eye with the scholars but used differing rank order: Democratic Atmosphere, Direct Experience, Group Dynamics, Community Study, and Curriculum Permeation.

From the point of view of the contemporary administrators, Activities ranked sixth, Individual Conference seventh, Unit eighth, and Vicarious Experience ninth. It's interesting to note that the contemporary scholars also ranked these four approaches from sixth through ninth, but in a differing rank order. The contemporary administrators ranked Exhibits, Festivals, and Pageants tenth, Ethnic Studies eleventh, and Intellectual twelfth. So did the contemporary scholars, but again in differing rank order.

There were only three significant differences between the scholars and the administrators. The Democratic Atmosphere Approach, which was ranked third by scholars, was even more heavily emphasized by administrators, who ranked it first. The Activities Approach was ranked eighth by scholars; this approach was rated more favorably by administrators who ranked it sixth. The Exhibits, Festivals, and Pageants Approach, which was ranked lowest by the contemporary scholars, received a better rating from administrators but, even so, only ranked tenth.

In general, the opinions of contemporary scholars and of contemporary administrators were very close. Although the rank order differed, the five approaches most emphasized by the scholars were the same five most emphasized by the administrators. To recapitulate, the rank order for the scholars' top five approaches was: Direct Experience (one), Community Study (two), Democratic Atmosphere (three), Curriculum Permeation (four), and Group Dynamics (five). The rank order for the five approaches most emphasized by the contemporary administrators was: Democratic Atmosphere (one), Direct Experience (two), Group Dynamics (three), Community Study (four), and Curriculum Permeation (five).

A COMPARISON OF CONTEMPORARY AND INTERCULTURAL MOVEMENT APPROACHES

How then did the rankings of the contemporary scholars and administrators compare with those of their predecessors, the writers engaged in the intercultural movement, 1943-1954? Again, there is a substantial agreement between the intercultural writers of the past and the scholars and administrators of the present about the effectiveness of approaches designed to reduce or eliminate prejudices. Table 3)

Of the six most heavily emphasized approaches during the promising practices stage (Curriculum Permeation, Unit, Democratic Atmosphere, Community Study, Group Dynamics, and Vicarious Experience), five remain in the top six rankings of the contemporary scholars. Direct Experience replaced the Unit Approach, moving from the number seven ranking by the intercultural movement of 1943-1954 to the highest ranking by contemporary scholars. Of the five most heavily emphasized approaches during the promising practices stage (Curriculum Permeation, Unit, Democratic Atmosphere, Community Study, Group Dynamics), four remain in the top five rankings of contemporary administrators. Direct Experience again replaced the Unit Approach, moving from

number seven position in the past to second ranking by the contemporary administrators in the present.

Only two major differences between contemporaries and the earlier intercultural educators were apparent: their differing rankings of the Direct Experience Approach and the Unit Approach.

The Direct Experience Approach was given the highest ranking of the twelve approaches by the contemporary scholars and the second highest by contemporary administrators. From 1943 to 1954, Direct Experience was rated seventh of the twelve approaches listed and was recommended as an effective approach in only three of the nineteen books cited. The difference in the ratings between the contemporary scholars and administrators, compared with the earlier intercultural educators, is completely understandable. After all, the school environment has changed greatly over the past twenty years. Prior to 1954, students in the South were completely segregated and students in the North often were segregated; therefore, opportunities for using the Direct Experience Approach during the era of the earlier scholars were necessarily more limited. Since the Brown decision in 1954, desegregation has frequently allowed the Direct Experience Approach to be used in the natural school setting.

Contemporary scholars rated the Unit Approach ninth, and contemporary administrators rated this approach eighth. During the promising practices stage, it was much emphasized by the writers of the intercultural education movement and ranked second, close behind the most heavily emphasized approach of Curriculum Permeation. It is obvious that the emphasis placed upon the effectiveness of teaching units on intercultural education has changed considerably through the years. Today we place more faith in informal approaches.

Table 3

Rank Order of Approaches Recommended by the Three Groups

Intercultural Movement, 1943-1954	Contemporary Scholars	Contemporary Administrators
1. Curriculum Permeation	1. Direct Experience	1. Democratic Atmosphere
2. Unit	2. Community Study	2. Direct Experience
3. Democratic Atmosphere	3. Democratic Atmosphere	3. Group Dynamics
4. Community Study	4. Curriculum Permeation	4. Community Study
5. Group Dynamics	5. Group Dynamics	5. Curriculum Permeation
6. Vicarious Experience	6.5 Vicarious Experience	6. Activities
7. Direct Experience	6.5 Individual Conference	7. Individual Conference
8. Intellectual	8. Activities	8. Unit
9. Activities	9. Unit	9. Vicarious Experience
11. Exhibits, Festivals, & Pageants	10. Ethnic Studies	10. Exhibits, Festivals & Pageants
11. Individual Conference	11. Intellectual	11. Ethnic Studies
11. Ethnic Studies	12. Exhibits, Festivals & Pageants	12. Intellectual

THE BETTER BETS IN PREJUDICE REDUCTION

So now we can return more confidently to the question raised by teachers with which we began. In what direction should I steer? What are the best bets as to intercultural education to combat prejudice in white students? History and research provide us substantial guides.

The similarity of views of 1943-1954 intercultural educators, present scholars and present public school administrators of large school systems provide us a consensus. They indicate that we should begin implementing, without further delay, those approaches recognized as most effective in reducing student prejudices. We have seen that four out of the top five approaches recommended by the intercultural educators of 1943-1954 continue to be highly regarded, for they also rank among the top five approaches recommended by both the contemporary scholars and the school administrators of 1973-74. So let us emphasize those four approaches — Community Study, Democratic Atmosphere, Curriculum Permeation, and Group Dynamics. Let us add to them the Direct Experience Approach recently stressed by contemporary scholars and administrators. None are mutually exclusive; since problems of prejudice are formidable, a combination of several should be used.

The Direct Experience Approach

The essence of the Direct Experience Approach is to foster situations in which students of all backgrounds cooperate with each other as they focus their attention on some jointly accepted goal or problem As the philosopher Boyd H. Bode put it, they work together on their common concerns. In the process they get to know each other well. They recognize still more things that they have in common, and they learn to respect their differences. When the contact between members of different backgrounds is of a positive and rewarding nature, prejudices should be reduced. As feelings and values become apparent to students, prejudices should diminish.

A multitude of potential Direct Experience Approaches exists in American schools. In fact, many activities currently being used in classrooms today lend themselves to the Direct Experience Approach. The most difficult part of the approach is in organizing an intergroup setting. Racially mixed classes tend to be segregated despite the enclosing walls of the classroom, as blacks sit near each other when given the choice and whites do likewise. The teacher must use ingenuity in finding common activities which are so important to the students that they break down the background barriers. Athletic coaches have known the secret for years — the goal of the winning team supersedes the intergroup suspicions and hostilities. The teacher must translate this insight into the classroom activities.

One practical approach is for teachers to talk over such possibilities in workshops or in-service sessions. Brainstorming sessions in which all ideas are accepted rather than h[illegible]kled could contribute to lists of direct experience situations that could be used in the classroom. After ideas seem to be exhausted, more critical examination could be made of activities suggested, and compilations of direct experience activities made for future use in the classroom. Such a workshop attended by teachers of multi-cultures would itself be an example of a Direct Experience Approach, for the teachers would have come together for a purpose that they share, the development of activities immediately and practically useful in promoting positive contact situations. Such a situation in itself could contribute to communications among staff members who have had little direct experience with each other in close working situations.

As the intercultural educators of 1943-54 well knew, a Direct Experience Approach which relied upon infrequent and casual contact was ineffective. They knew that to shepherd children on a trip to a school attended by students of a different racial or ethnic background could only result in a stand-and-stare brand of contact which would do little to change attitudes. For studies had repeatedly shown that casual contact alone could not make a difference. The need was for contact situations extending over a period of time in a context of shared interests and concerns. This opportunity exists in those contemporary schools which are physically desegregated. Hard to achieve common concerns, interests, shared situations? Of course it is, yet this is the challenge to the professional. If education were easy we could readily turn it over to the untrained.

Democratic Atmosphere Approach

The Democratic Atmosphere Approach is another

best bet that could be readily implemented in any school if the staff were, or if it became, fully committed to the belief that students should be treated with respect. We often treat one another in the way that we ourselves have been treated or as we have observed others treat people. If a child or a youth repeatedly sees a teacher relating to others by showing genuine respect for their opinions and demonstrating concern for their well being, it is likely that the youngster will be affected by this positive interaction. He or she will be more inclined to treat people in a similar fashion simply through the adult example. William Heard Kilpatrick put it simply, "We learn what we live."

In a school characterized by the Democratic Atmosphere Approach, the insights of humanistic psychologists such as Arthur Combs, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, and Earl C. Kelley would be used. Self-actualizing personalities would be valued. Students and teachers alike would feel that they count, belong, and are wanted. Teachers would show a genuine concern for each student as an individual characterized by different needs and interests.

The humanistic teacher who fosters the Democratic Atmosphere Approach is a person who is willing to communicate what he or she thinks and feels. Such a teacher is seen by students as honest, consistent, and dependable. The humanistic teacher accepts each person as a human being who is to be respected and loved. Yet the student would not have to pay the price of conforming to a fixed pattern in order to earn respect and love, for the humanistic teacher is able to put himself or herself into the shoes of the student. Such a teacher is strong and confident enough to allow the student to retain a separate identity. In such an atmosphere, all human beings could thrive as the process of becoming self-actualizing persons went forward.

Community Study Approach

In the mid 1970's, some schools are rediscovering the importance of community study through "action learning," an emphasis currently encouraged by the National Association of Secondary School Principals. The action learning emphasis can include the type of Community Study Approach envisioned by intercultural educators. For instance, in a 1976 yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education on secondary education, Vernon H. Smith and Robert D. Barr of Indiana University describe action learning programs which immerse young people in cultures different from their own. For example, students at East High School in Denver have harvested beets with migrant workers, have worked in welfare agencies, and have served food in soup lines. They have spent weekends on a Navajo reservation, and lived with Mexican families. Their activities have been recognized with high school social studies credit. In Lincoln-Sudsbury Regional High School near Boston, students have lived for five weeks with black inner city families. Meanwhile they were working in social agencies. Their inner city experience was followed by five weeks in rural settings.

Despite the importance of the Community Study Approach for intercultural education, there are, sadly enough, currently too few projects developed in schools which use the community to gain firsthand knowledge of intercultural problems. Needed are many more student analyses of sociological problems. The fields of government, economics, local history and politics are waiting for venturesome teachers who will sponsor projects through which students become involved in the social system and learn for themselves about human relations in the real surrounding world.

Action learning can take place in service agencies, the world of work, the professional community, the political arena, and through construction and urban renewal projects. As it does, the teacher sensitive to intercultural education will discover many opportunities to relate these community experiences to understanding the cultural mosaic in which Americans live.

Curriculum Permeation Approach

The essence of the Curriculum Permeation Approach is the utilization of all of the subject areas of the curriculum to foster intergroup understanding. Too often, educators make the false assumption that intercultural education, to the extent that it exists in the school, should be confined to the social studies area with perhaps some supplementation in the language arts. But all areas of the curriculum offer opportunities for intercultural education. For instance, Charlotte Epstein in her helpful book, *Intergroup Relations for the Classroom Teacher*, includes not only an illustration of teaching intergroup relations through Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, and examples of permeating United States history with an emphasis on

minority groups and intergroup relations. She also describes how elementary science classes can deal with hunger and poverty and problems of food preservation; how arithmetic problems can be interrelated to life problems; how high school biology can contribute to the understanding of race.

Even subject fields which appear unlikely can lend themselves to the Curriculum Permeation Approach. Through the arts, can we not teach that human beings of all cultures and backgrounds have contributed to music and the fine and industrial arts? Through business education, can we not teach the changes which have taken place in employment resulting from campaigns and legislation against discrimination and from today's affirmative action programs?

Groups Dynamics Approach

As affective education becomes increasingly accepted in schools, the Group Dynamics Approach is increasingly used. For instance, many of the schools have adopted the Magic Circle through which some teachers have had their first experiences in working with students gathered in a circle for 20 or 30 minutes to discuss their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. The environment is a safe, non-threatening one in which all feelings are accepted. Sometimes role-playing is used and the children gather afterwards to discuss their feelings.

Transactional analysis is another example of an emphasis on group dynamics. Popularized by Thomas Harris' book, *I'm OK — You're OK*, and by the writing of Eric Berne, transactional analysis explores the interactions among people.

Games also provide another effective device for encouraging positive interactions among group members. For instance, the White Plains, New York, schools which have developed highly promising human relations weekends for students of multi-ethnic backgrounds, found that animated discussion during a weekend, and later, grew out of a make-believe situation. Students were given descriptions of nine individuals whose lives might be saved through the use of a kidney machine. But the machine could only service three of these people — so who is to be saved?

WHERE WE GO FROM HERE

There is both good news and bad news on the intercultural education front today. The good news includes the growth in resources to which the teacher may turn for specific help on implementation of the five recommended approaches sketched above and additional approaches. For instance, *Understanding Intergroup Relations* is a collection of multimedia materials developed by the Association of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association in cooperation with the NEA Center for Human Relations. The package includes a film strip, a research booklet, three cassette tapes, and two overhead transparency sets. Useful books have been published, such as *Intergroup Education: Methods and Materials* by Jean Grambs which specifies many promising practices and assembles an extensive bibliography of materials, and *Intergroup Relations for the Classroom Teacher* by Charlotte Epstein, mentioned earlier. Organizations continue to develop materials and suggestions, typified by *Intergroup Relations Curriculum*, prepared by the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs for use in the kindergarten through sixth grade, and by the varied intercultural materials prepared by those early supporters of intercultural education, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. The bad news is that with some honorable exceptions, there are few sustained and effective intercultural teacher education programs currently in existence at the college and university level.

The schools of the nation, faced with the reality of problems of human relations, must act. Intercultural education must become an integral part of in-service programs for teachers. Administrators and supervisors must vigorously take the lead in developing appropriate workshops and study sessions. School systems must pioneer in developing relationships to community organizations and in fostering interrelationships between school and community. Teacher education must place more emphasis on intercultural education.

As Gloria Stashower said in an article in the April 1975 issue of *American Education*, "Educators have

learned the difficult lesson that simply placing black and white children in the same school, even voluntarily and with full community support, is not necessarily the happy ending. The notion that desegregation is synonymous with true and meaningful integration is somewhat askew. While black and white students may be enrolled in the same school and use the same buildings and classrooms, they may yet pass through the system along separate social and economic paths, rarely communicating or interacting, oblivious of one another at best, openly hostile at worst."

As one of the authors of this bulletin commented in his column, "One Way of Looking At It," in the November 1974 *Kappan*:

> Desegregation, still in process, was essential and urgent; it constituted the first mile. We have come part of this mile with agonizingly slow "deliberate speed." But now desegregation is making few gains, partly because of Nixon appointees to the Supreme Court but also because integration, which is more than physical desegregation and which involves full acceptance of all human beings as individuals who are created equal, has not accompanied many desegregation programs. Achievement of integration, the goal of the second mile, is still a formidable distance away.

Perhaps now blacks and whites — both-and, not either-or — can work together for a renaissance of intercultural education under new ethnic-related labels in our schools, combined with effective joint social action for desegregation and integration in our communities... Maybe through the approaches of "community study, democratic atmosphere, curriculum permeation, and group dynamics" joined by the current emphasis on the "direct experience" approach, we can go the second mile to achieve integration.

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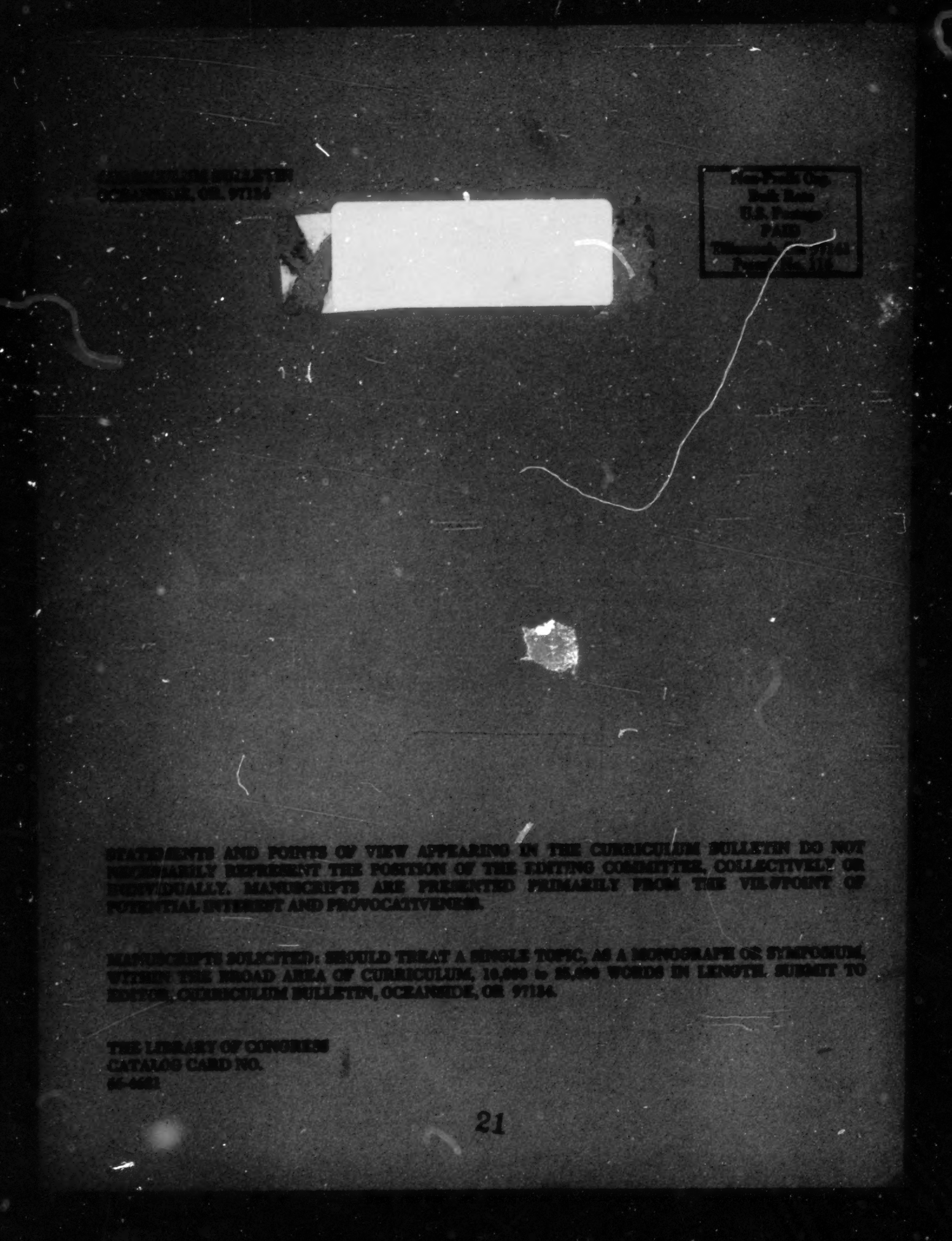

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